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WILLIAM HARD AS "NOT HALF-BAD" CANDIDATE AND ARTFUL PILOT IN THE ROLLING RAPIDS OF MONTHLY INK

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Presented to the Magazine Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, annual convention, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon, August 1983.

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ABSTRACT

William Hard was a creative and prolific writer of popular magazine journalism who used a rich variety of literary styles and techniques to tell his stories. His best work for Everybody's Magazine from 1907 to 1911 shows characteristics that support a suggestion that Hard be considered among the forebears of the New Journalism of the 1960s and 1970s. He may be included among those writers Tom Wolfe has termed "Not Half-Bad Candidates" for recognition as forebears. An examination of selections from his work shows he dealt with current affairs and social issues in articles made more appealing by means of narrative and dramatic presentation of characters, figurative language, and carefully modulated tone and pace.

Presented to the Magazine Division, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, annual convention, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon, August 1983.

As a strong successful man, I name him Mr. Hard. As a great writer, William Hard. As a good fellow, Billy Hard. And when he gets his working clothes on, and with cool nerve and clear eye and relentless zeal drives through sham and complexity to the very heart of a vital theme, I name him Hard.

Erman Jesse Ridgway
"Conversazione"
The Delineator
September 1911

WILLIAM HARD AS "NOT HALF-BAD" CANDIDATE

AND ARTFUL PILOT IN THE ROLLING RAPIDS OF MONTHLY INK[1]

In 1920 William Hard described the kind of journalism he had practiced for nearly 20 years as having been committed to a moderate, evolutionary program for making the world a better place by getting people "accustomed to performing acts of justice and kindness." He added that

> there were few measures of humane justice from the powerful to the powerless that I did not try to forward with whatever little forwarding I could give them, from one little insecure rock in the terrible rolling rapids of daily, weekly, and monthly ink.[2]

But that was only part of the story, for Hard was more than simply an advocate of social justice. His work during those nearly 20 years, primarily as a writer for several popular magazines, was far more general in nature and far more interesting. This period represented the first third of a career that produced hundreds of articles in dozens of popular, special-interest, and opinion and comment periodicals, principally Everybody's, New Republic, Nation, and Reader's Digest, from 1903 to 1960.

Writing for the magazines was the chief source of his reputation as well as his livelihood. Editors and publishers for whom he wrote, especially in the early years, were unsparing in their praise of him when they were calling their readers' attention to articles of his that were running in their magazines. Erman Jesse Ridgway and his colleagues at Everybody's and The Delineator were markedly effusive. They described Hard, variously, as: "a master of the writing craft;" a man of "great ability as an investigator and rare skill in presenting humanly subjects that concern humanity;" "the man who can put drama even into figures and without distorting the figures;" and one who "adds to his uncommon qualities as an

investigator the gifts of clear and convincing statement, good humor, and imagination based on facts rather than on rainbows."[3]

More disinterested observers have described him as "a brilliant and talented writer...[who] made a not inconsiderable contribution to the literature of exposure [of the progressive muckraking period]" and as "perhaps the most vivid reporter the New Republic ever had, [one whose] spare and racy style approximated the first true 'reportage' in America."[4]

My purpose in writing about Hard and his work is to suggest that he can be classed among those journalists Tom Wolfe has termed "Not Half-Bad Candidates" for designation as forebears of the writers of New Journalism of the 1960s and 1970s because their work shows "many of the characteristics of the New Journalism."[5] While the broader aim is to make a case for appreciation of Hard as a creative and prolific writer of popular magazine journalism, the more specific goal is to contribute to the effort George Hough years ago wrote about--provide New Journalism with something of "a family tree, respectable ancestors."[6]

Commentary on the persistent, and at times tiresome, question of the historical roots of the New Journalism has tended to exhaust the commentators without exhausting the subject. With few exceptions, the question has been inadequately handled by most who have touched on it, usually in broader essays on New Journalism or on specific writers. While it is acknowledged that the New Journalism fits into a "tradition of literary journalism" or represents the re-emergence of a "submerged" literary tradition in journalism, adequate examination of specific antecedents of New Journalism has been lacking.[7]

This essay will examine selected excerpts from Hard's work that show characteristics similar to those of the New Journalism. The excerpts are from articles written between 1907 and 1911, an especially productive period early in Hard's career in magazine journalism. A discussion of his career will precede this examination of his work.

* * * * *

Nineteen years before he wrote the aforementioned words on the reformist quality of his journalism, the social justice commitment Hard described in that 1920 article had led him at 23 to Chicago from the campus of Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois. He had earned a degree in history and lectured on medieval history for a year but went next to the university's settlement house at 1400 Augusta Street on Chicago's northwest side to take up the duties of head resident for a year.[8]

His route to Augusta Street had been roundabout and cosmopolitan. He had been born September 15, 1878, in Painted Post, New York, to the Reverend Clark P. Hard and Lydia E. van Someren Hard. When he was four, he went with his parents to India, where his father worked as a missionary, and he spent his childhood and adolescence there. He was educated in boarding school in India and briefly attended the University College of London before enrolling at Northwestern.

The university settlement house where Hard began his work as a reformer and writer had been started by Charles Zueblin, "social gospel minister, pioneer sociologist, and civic reformer," on Division Street in Chicago in 1891, "as a laboratory to study the city, and as a beachhead in the movement to try to change it."[9] For a young man eager to change the

world and aspiring to a writing career, it was the right place to be. For the reformer, it offered the opportunity to work for change; for the writer, it "offered the perfect vantage point from which to observe and study the teeming city, and collect the necessary data....."[10]

From the "perfect vantage point" Hard began writing of the subjects that were to be the primary focus of his early writing career: the city, its people--especially its workers--and their situation. His first forum was The Neighbor, the newsletter of the Northwestern settlement, in which he wrote on various local reform issues.[11] This work soon caught the attention of others outside the settlement neighborhoods, and Hard began his professional writing career. Robert W. Patterson, editor of the Chicago Tribune, hired him to write editorials for the newspaper. Hard worked for the paper until 1905, when he left to serve briefly as assistant to Chicago's commissioner for public works, Joseph Medill Patterson.

Robert Patterson reportedly told Hard, "You can write.... I don't know how much you know, but it is easier to teach knowledge than it is to teach writing."[12] His work as an editorial writer was recalled with praise a few years later by Will Irwin, who wrote that Hard, Joseph Patterson, and Tiffany Blake had "nearly revived the lost arts of the essay in their editorials" for the Tribune.[13] Alva S. Johnston, a later colleague of Hard's, wrote in 1942 that Hard, as an editorial writer,

> was a reporter in fact. He got around. Most of his writing was based on first-hand investigation. He got a thrill in printing news scoops on the front page. He has always been a good legman.[14]

The style of Hard's magazine writing suggests he may have been influenced by the journalistic subculture Hugh Dalziel Duncan has described as pre-

vailing in Chicago at about this time. Chicago journalists wrote for readers who wanted "action, feeling, emotion, and color expressed with vigor, humor, and exaggeration." They learned to "dramatize the news, not from the view of a dispassionate witness but from that of a participant who spits on his hands, rolls up his sleeves, and jumps into the fight."[15]

Hard, like many of his settlement colleagues, developed strong sympathies for the workingman and ties to the labor movement.[16] During the brutal stockyards strike of 1904 Hard and Ernest Poole worked together on an article for Outlook, a general public affairs and opinion journal with a circulation of about 10,000, and Hard got his first major by-line (with Poole) in a national periodical.[17]

Hard's writing career blossomed in 1905 and 1906. His pieces on reform issues, reformers, workingmen and other subjects appeared with increasing frequency in such public affairs journals as World To-Day and Independent and in the larger, general-circulation American Magazine, and The Saturday Evening Post. More important for his career, however, Hard began in 1906 a long and productive association with Everybody's and its publisher, Erman Jesse Ridgway. Ridgway had played a leading role in turning Everybody's, which had been the magazine of the New York branch of Wanamaker's, into one of the leading muckraking magazines.[18] Hard was Chicago editor in 1906 for Ridgway's Weekly, a newly-launched national publication that folded after 19 issues, and in 1907 he began muckraking for Everybody's, graphically demonstrating the need for industrial safety measures and workmen's compensation. His series on industrial accidents and the harm done to workers and their families, which has been credited

with helping to give impetus to efforts to establish workmen's compensation programs,[19] began in the November 1907 Everybody's with "Making Steel and Killing Men." He added two more articles--"Law of the Killed and Wounded" and "Pensioners of Peace" in September and October 1908. These three were compiled with articles by others in Injured in the Course of Duty, which Ridgway published in 1910.

In January 1908, Everybody's published what is today probably Hard's most widely-known work, "De Kid Wot Works at Night," a journey through the night world of the working youth--newsboy and messenger boy--in Chicago. Much later, shortly before his death in 1962, Hard told the editors of an anthology of muckraking articles that the piece was influential in promoting passage of protective child labor legislation in Illinois.

> Such legislation [he wrote] had been denounced by many employers as "Socialism." My article did a lot to explode that foolish charge in the Illinois legislature.[20]

A few months later in 1908, Hard joined Mark Sullivan of Collier's in that popular weekly's campaign against Speaker of the House Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois. He contributed two articles that ran in Collier's in May.[21]

The editors of Everybody's, meanwhile, had assigned the 29-year-old Hard in 1907 the task of making "a thorough investigation of the whole subject of women working...and the effects on the health, the home, on industry, on women and men."[22] The result of his investigation was "The Woman's Invasion," a series of six lengthy and artfully written articles that ran in the magazine from November 1908 through April 1909.

Sixteen months after the last article in that series appeared, the first in another series, "The Women of To-Morrow," ran in the August 10

Everybody's. This five-part project, which ran through January 1911, grew out of the earlier effort, as Everybody's noted:

> There was much more to say, but he was not ready to write it down then [in "The Woman's Invasion"]. He went back to the subject and ever since has been studying its innumerable aspects.[23]

As a writer on issues such as these, Hard qualifies for inclusion in the ranks of the muckrakers if one accepts a broad definition of the term muckracker--one such as this: anyone who wrote investigative articles for mass circulation magazines and newspapers during the progressive years, journalism's "zenith of influence, the Golden Age of national stature and reputation."[24] Looking back over several decades, Hard in 1961 expressed pride in his muckraking, and, writes Louis Filler, he did make "a not inconsiderable contribution to the literature of exposure."[25]

But while others in those years were concentrating all or most of their energy on muckraking and were professionalizing it, Hard was also pursuing broader interests in writing, and muckraking became a sideline to his more general career in journalism.[26] Even in his works that may be classified as muckraking articles, Hard seems to have been more concerned with development and use of style and technique than with content, exposure, and exhortation alone. This emphasis on style put off some contemporary and later reviewers of his work. An example is the reviewer in 1962 who described "Making Steel and Killing Men" as an

> otherwise admirable call for better safety rules in heavy industry [that is] rendered somewhat repellent by a tone of wheedling incantation which the author probably thought was very artistic.[27]

In "De Kid Woc Works at Night," Hard does a masterful job of setting scenes and narrating the work day and night of the central character. But the style and tone of the article suggest an ambivalence on Hard's part. In an article whose apparent aim is to stimulate action by the authorities against the employment of children in nighttime jobs on the streets, Hard appears to waver between admiration for the street-wise, business-wise boy and alarm at the life he leads. Even the alarm that is expressed seems strained. It is as if Hard felt the need to put in somewhere an obligatory expression of alarm to satisfy the requirements of the muck-raking article. But the style overcomes the alarm and the exhortation to reform.[28] It is a characteristic of the article that must have caused raised eyebrows or frowns among self-consciously serious reformers and muckrakers. Hard was undoubtedly sincere in his later comments on his muckraking and the nature of his journalism up to 1920. But his main interest in his writing seems always to have been not what outrages must be exposed and denounced but rather how best to make an important subject attractive and compelling reading for the popular magazine audience.[29] Reviewers noted this characteristic of Hard's writing, either praising it or complaining about it. Articles in the book version of the series "The Women of To-Morrow" were, for example, commended because of their "graphic popular style, easily read and grasped" and their "humorous and vivacious style." One critic, however, commented that the "somewhat sensational style will tend to prejudice the educated reader."[30]

Hard's article writing style was at the forefront of trends in magazine journalism that were noted as emerging around the time he was starting out. Walter Hines Page noted in 1902, for example:

> Effective style is changing. The somewhat leisurely style of a generation or two ago pleased the small circle of readers within its reach....The man who would write convincingly and entertainingly of things of our day and our time must write with more directness, with more clearness, with greater nervous force.[31]

Indeed, Mrs. Eleanor Hard Lake, Hard's daughter, reports that no less a figure than Arthur Brisbane credited Hard with being the "father of the modern article."[32]

Beyond Hard's own interests in stylizing his writing, part of the explanation for this characteristic of his work at this time might also be his association with Everybody's. It was a magazine that did publish some of the more noteworthy examples of the muckraking genre of articles but more consistently displayed a desire to provide its readers with a wider variety of content in a more entertaining manner than its competitors. The purpose was to make more money. Everybody's "represented a strictly professional magazine enterprise," writes Theodore Greene.[33] Its owners and staff wished to publish

> something worth telling, something people would be eager to read, something which would boom our circulation.[34]

In his history of magazines, Frank Luther Mott commented about Everybody's:

> It would be pleasant to think that its reformatory zeal during the decade beginning in 1903 was entirely sincere, but certain utterances of [the publishers editors, and writers] convince us that it was not.[35]

Whatever the depth of their sincerity may have been, the magazine's owners and staff could easily see one sure sign of success manifested in the circulation figures: readership doubled between 1903 and 1913.[36] As a writer for Everybody's, Hard saw his work brought before an audience that con-

sistently numbered more than one-half million.

In 1913, as circulation began to decline, Erman Ridgway declared that muckraking no longer paid; besides, government had reformed. The magazine now had to be "constructive." Its first constructive effort was a new series by Hard, "Better Business," which ran in five numbers of the magazine through 1914.[37] It was an effort applauded by businessmen. "After all the muckraking articles..., it is refreshing to see a magazine attempt something that is constructive," declared the industry publication Iron Trade Review in an editorial. Hard, the editorialist wrote, is

> a writer who has an exceedingly entertaining style and is able to be interesting, while at the same time technically accurate.[38]

Wrote an engineering magazine editor:

> It is so rare to find a popular writer who can make a good story without grieving the friends of truth that my cordial admiration goes out to Mr. Hard....[39]

Meanwhile, both before and during his work on this series, Hard continued to do several more major articles for Everybody's. These were on "important subjects," including "The Women of To-Morrow" series[40] in 1910 and 1911, but also "now and then a lighter article in between."[41] He had also undertaken a long-term project for The Delineator, "'With All My Worldly Goods I Thee Endow. Yes. But Does He?," which examined the legal rights of women, particularly married women with children. From his monthly platform in The Delineator from October 1911 through August 1913, Hard poured out article after article on such matters as property rights of married women, guardianship of children, rights of widows to property, and enforcement of non-support and desertion statutes. Contemporaries credited him with playing a leading role in the campaign to establish state programs

to provide funds for widowed mothers.[42] Hard argued for such programs in a March 1, 1913, article in Survey, "The Moral Necessity of State Funds for Mothers."

In 1915, Hard took on the editorship of Everybody's for one year and continued to write articles for the magazine. His work for Everybody's ended in 1916, and Hard became in the following year a regular contributor to the three-year-old New Republic.[43] He also was a regular contributor to Metropolitan, and in March 1918 one of his articles became the subject of controversy because it presented "An Imaginary Conversation" in which Woodrow Wilson was shown defending a hypocritical American foreign policy.[44]

Hard went on in the 1920s to become a regular contributor to Nation and many other magazines and a pioneer radio commentator and correspondent. In 1939 he began writing regularly for Reader's Digest and was a roving editor for the magazine until his death in 1962.

* * * * *

In 1980, Nicholas Lemann observed that the term "New Journalism" ought to be replaced by the term "narrative journalism," meaning "nonfiction written with a plot, characters, dialogue, and other techniques traditionally associated with fiction...."[45] It is this term, rather than New Journalism, that seems most appropriate for describing the examples of William Hard's magazine journalism that seem to qualify him for the "Not Half-Bad" Candidate title. His work was not, in any sense, "pure" narrative journalism. In many of his articles he broke away from the narrative to provide more direct statements of facts and statistics, quotations, and his own opinions. But in much of his work there are numerous passages and hefty segments of articles that can with validity be considered

narrative journalism or New Journalism. If these categories or terms seem unacceptable, perhaps the most appropriate description is that supplied by Arthur Asa Berger (in describing New Journalism):

> interpretative reporting with a bit of pizzazz. It uses dialogue, it uses narration, it is stream-of-consciousness reportage, it is stylized and highly descriptive....[46]

Many of these elements can be seen in the best work of Hard's early career, as can the four devices Tom Wolfe listed as being typical of New Journalism: scene-by-scene construction; full recording of dialogue; third-person point of view; and recording of status-life details.[47]

In "De Kid Wot Works at Night," written in 1907 and published in Everybody's in January 1908, Hard opens with a lengthy, elaborate description of Chicago at dusk, each paragraph with a parallel beginning.[48]

> When the shades of night look as if they were about to fall; when the atmosphere of Chicago begins to change from the dull gray of unaided local nature to the brilliant white of artificial illumination; when the Loop District, the central crater of the volcano, is filling up rapidly with large numbers of straps which have been brought downtown from outlying carbarns for the convenience of those who have had enough and who now wish to withdraw; when the sound of the time-clock being gladly and brutally punched is heard through every door and window--
>
> When all these things are happening, and, besides--
>
> When all the fat men in the city get to the street-cars first, and all the lean and energetic and profane men have to climb over them to the inner seats; when the salesladies in the department stores throw the night-covers over bargain ormolu clocks just as you pant up to the counter; when the man who has just bought a suburban house stops at the wholesale meat market and carries home a left-over steak in order to have the laugh on the high-priced suburban butcher; when you are sorry your office is on the fifth floor because there are so many people on the eleventh floor and the elevator goes by you without stopping, while you scowl through the glass partition--
>
> When all these things are happening, and, besides--
> (p.25)

The article proceeds in this fashion for another, long paragraph before coming to the point at which Hard introduces the main characters, "the night newsboy and the night messenger boy." Between five and six o'clock they "turn another page in the book of experience and begin to devote themselves once more to the thronging, picturesque, incoherent characters of the night life of a big American city." (p. 26)

Hard uses parallel, fast-paced paragraphs to show the newsboy and the messenger boy beginning their nightly activities, then raises the social issue that his article addresses. What do they do? What do they see? And how does it affect them? Hard then turns self-consciously literary with a reference to the unknown business transpiring at night in the city:

> Night, in these modern times, is like the United States Constitution. It is an admirable institution, but it doesn't know what is happening beneath it. Night comes down on Chicago and spreads its wings as largely and as comfortably now as when the Tribune building was a sand dune. You stand on Madison Street and look upward, through the glare of the arc lamps, and you see old Mother Night still brooding about you, calmly, imperturbably, quite unconscious of the fact that her mischievous children have lined her feathers with electricity, kerosene, acetylene, coal-gas, and every other species of unlawful, unnatural illuminating substance. She still spreads her wings, simply, grandly, with the cosmic unconcern of a hen that doesn't know she is hatching out ducks instead of chickens; and in the morning she rises from her nest and flutters away westward, feeling quite sure that she has fulfilled her duty in an ancient, regular, and irreproachable manner.
>
> She would be quite maternally surprised if she could know what her newsboys and messenger boys are doing while she (good, proper mother!) is nodding her head beautifully among the stars. (pp. 27-28)

Hard tells the story primarily through the experiences of an Italian newsboy.

> The best specimen of the finished type of newsboy, within my knowledge, is an Italian boy name "Jelly." His father's surname is Cella, but his own name has been "Jelly" ever since he can remember. (p. 32)

The story moves quickly from Jelly's start as a newsboy at the age of 10, through his movement up in the newsboy world to the point at which, at the age of 16, he had his own newsstands. By the time of the article, he had become a messenger boy, which provides Hard the opportunity to examine that line of work.

The article closes with a lengthy scene starting at two o'clock in the morning outside a downtown hotel where the messenger boys are playing "craps."

> Two hours and a half pass playing craps. The honesty of the engineering construction of the dice is several times impugned. And, apparently, not without reason. The boy who is winning at any given time is the boy who is playing with his own dice.
>
> At about half past four a very old man, about thirty-six years of age, stumbles by. He turns and comes back. He is carrying a satchel. He steadies himself and begins to tell the boys that in that satchel he has a machine that will make him a millionaire. His eyes stagger almost as much as his legs. He is thin. His skin is drawn tightly over his face. His clothes hang loosely on his frame. After explaining the value, though not the character, of the machine in his satchel, he explains further that he is not only a future millionaire, but that he has already been a millionaire, having owned at one time a factory 500 feet long and more than that broad.
>
> The boys rise up from their sprawling attitudes on the sidewalk under the glare of the arc-lamp. In turn, solemnly, they kick the stranger's satchel. It is battered in, on both ends. It is then cracked open in the middle. It is revealed as being empty. The boys change from solemnity to gaiety and kick the satchel all together instead of in succession. The man staggers out into the street. A policeman turns the corner.
>
> "Time to go swimmin'," yells the leader. He has seen the policeman and has demonstrated his right to be leader.

> The light of dawn is chilling and freezing the warm nocturnal radiance of the arc-lamp. The policeman's face is gray and sick. To the man who has worked all night it seems unreasonable, impossible, like a nightmare, that within another hour or two thousands of people should be resuming their frantic, insane, energetic labor in the office buildings about him. The perpetually renewed strenuosity of the world seems like the mocking laugh of a demon who is laughing in order to hear himself. It seems to have no other excuse or explanation.
>
> But these messenger boys, living their whole life all at once, emphatic and condensed, are yelling: "Come on! Swimmin'!"
>
> They rush in a body down the street and turn the corner toward the lake.
>
> The policeman looks down the street, eastward, after them. A gleam of sunlight strikes the metal on his helmet. The night is over. (p. 37)

Hard's skill in creating descriptive scenic passages rich in figurative language is shown in several of the articles in his two series, "The Woman's Invasion" and "The Women of To-Morrow." In the first article in the former series, Hard describes the coming of a new day to Fall River, Massachusetts:

> The mill itself, at six o'clock, begins to open an eye or two. Not many. They are frugal in New England. Just one or two scattered gas-jets or electric-light bulbs, here and there, shining conservatively through crusted window-panes.
>
> By five minutes past six the current of indistinct human forms setting toward the mill is a real current; not a trickle of drops any more; but a steady, united stream, which flows like a heavy liquid, silently, thickly, through the gate of the mill into the grounds, into the big door, up into the dimly lighted first-, second-, third-, fourth-story levels.
>
> For half an hour the current flows, deep, full, dark. The only break in its color is that it is flecked reminiscently in spots with the cotton-fiber of yesterday, while every now and then a girl lifts above the surface of the stream a white face which shows humanly like a larger cotton-fleck. (p. 582)

In Part III of the same series, Hard describes another scene of Chicago streets:

> Through the orchestral roar that is Chicago, through the bellow of brasses that is the Loop, the thin, piping scream of ribboned, feathered, parti-colored State Street (like the call of the Pied Piper of Hamelin whom the children followed, as he piped, from their homes to Transylvania) emerges, penetrating, dominating, till--
>
> From every corner of the city come women; not women of one approximate type like the women of the factory; but daughters of bank clerks, daughters of section hands and daughters of lawyers;... jostling one another down the Plate-Glass-Window Way, loitering to catch one more glimpse of the London-smoke, pearl-looped sheath-gown in the corner exhibit, scurrying to intercept the "late-punch" on their entrance cards, till--
>
> By half past eight every morning, in the sales-rooms and offices lining State Street from Randolph to Congress, along a stretch of just seven blocks of high-pitched, high-tinted city life, 25,000 women are at work. (p. 73)

In another passage in that same article, Hard uses what one later writer has described as "literary pyrotechnics."[49] Trying to show the difference between the work of a salesgirl and the work of a factory hand, Hard asks the reader to imagine that the salesgirl behind the counter selling handkerchiefs is, instead, "feeding handkerchiefs to a machine." He continues:

> Imagine that on her counter there is a certain spot marked with a blue cross. Imagine that there is a certain other spot marked with a red cross. Imagine that just beyond the red cross there is a little machine with a claw that stretches out to clutch whatever is fed to it....
>
> She takes a handkerchief, places it on the blue cross, pushes it over to the red cross, and the claw of the machine snatches it away. She takes a second.... She takes a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, two a second, 120 a minute, 7,200 an hour, all the morning hours, all the afternoon hours of every week, all the working hours of every year.
>
> And she does nothing else.
>
> Have you a visualized notion now of the mind-stupefying, unmeaning, aimless monotony of the lives of hundreds of thousands of American factory women?

> Your salesgirl has ceased to be a thought. She has become an iteration. A blue cross, a red cross, a handkerchief! That's her life. Pushing a handkerchief! (How materialistic the lower classes are becoming!) Pushing a handkerchief! (They don't believe in God any longer and they won't go to church!) Pushing a handkerchief! Pushing a handkerchief! (They see nothing spiritual in life!) Pushing a handkerchief! Pushing a handkerchief! Nothing else! Pushing a handkerchief! Forever!
>
> Yes, forever! Try it once. You may not find God, but you <u>will</u> apprehend Eternity, in a day. (pp. 74-75)

The opening of the final installment in "The Woman's Invasion" consists of an extended narrative featuring Bessie Smith, a widow and mother forced to work after her husband's death.

> Bessie Smith got through work at five. A block down the street, in her favorite department store, she bought, in little, very thick paper pails (like the pails they use for oysters) a mutton stew, a rice pudding, and two codfish balls. Then she took a street-car. A half hour later, three miles from downtown, she reached a noticeably clean, trim, mottled-brick building. There, on the second floor, in an aisle, barricaded by babies, between two long rows of iron cribs, she extricated, half-laughing, half-crying, from the arms of a blue-and-white-stripe-clad nurse, the squirming figure of a boy not many months from his third birthday.
>
> That evening, in her flat (just around the corner from the mottled-brick building), the little boy struggled, between mouthfuls of zwiebach drenched in milk, to find words for the happenings of the day. His mother sat at the table beside him, piecing together the fragments of his gossip, inciting him to the construction of new baby-phrases, and forgetting (almost till they were spoiled) the mutton stew and the rice pudding warming for her supper in the oven of the gas range. (p. 521)

Mrs. Smith postpones putting her son to bed so she can spend more time talking with him. She runs out of reasons for postponing his bedtime and puts him down.

> There was no doubt about it. It certainly was wrong. She would swear off. She wouldn't keep him awake and get him excited like that any more. But if to-morrow were only Sunday! She could make him talk all day then!
>
> But to-morrow she will get up at half past six, and after the two codfish balls (warmed in the oven) and a cup of coffee have made her breakfast, and a bowl of Glutena and cream has made Barry's, she will reach the day nursery by half past seven and hand Harry back to the blue-and-white-stripe-clad nurse. And then, at eight sharp, she will punch the time-clock in a big down-town store.
>
> Bessie Smith's life is an advanced life, in the sense of being extreme, in the sense of having been thrown forward into a kind of peninsula which casts its headland out far into the still uncharted waters of the industrial future. (pp. 521-522)

Whether Bessie Smith is a composite character or a hypothetical case that Hard uses to illustrate and humanize his article is not stated in the text. In a later article, however, Hard admits that his central figures are "compositely imagined," as he contrasts them with a few "real life" cases. The central figures in this article, "Love Deferred," which is Part III in "The Women of To-Morrow" series, are John and Mary. The article tells of their sensible decision to marry while Mary continued to work for two years, "in which she had helped John to start a home." (p. 494) The story of their "progressive" lifestyle is told with long passages of dialogue and interior monologue, interwoven with statements from experts and with statistics.

Part IV of "The Women of To-Morrow," titled "The Wasters," presents a contrasting case study of Marie, a woman of the leisure class, whose father and husband "had removed from her life all need, and finally all desire, to make efforts and to accomplish results through struggle in defiance of difficulty and at the cost of pain." (p. 767) Hard writes in a manner

that seems similar to Tom Wolfe's use of tone and status-life details, so that the reader can be shown what happens when Marie gets a headache.

> It was a social ceremony of large proportions, with almost everybody among those present, from the doctor down through Mother and Auntie to Little Sister. The decorations, which were very elaborate, comprised, besides the usual tasteful arrangement of thermometers, eau-de-Karlsbad, smelling salts bottles, cracked ice, and chocolate creams, a perfect shower of tourmaline roses, the odor of which, alone among all the vegetable odors in the world, had been found after long experimentation to be soothing to Marie on such occasions. It was not thought that Marie could vanquish a headache except after a plucky fight of at least one day's duration. (p. 767)

Later, Hard concedes that the leisure class makes a significant contribution to society.

> It gives employment. And every extension of its tastes and needs gives more employment. Marie and her friends greatly increased the number and prosperity of tailors and milleners and candy-dippers and perfume-manufacturers and manicurists and hairdressers and plumed-bird hunters and florists and cab-drivers and Irish lace-makers and Chinese silkworm tenders and violet-and-orris sachet-powder makers and matinee heroes and French nuns who embroider underwear and fur-traders, and pearl-divers and other deserving persons, not forgetting the multitudes of Turks who must make nougat or perish. (p. 770)

Hard employs the same tone in dashing through a hard day's "work" for Marie.

> Why, it was half-past eleven before she got back downtown from her tailor, and she bought a wedding present till one, and she was just famished and ran to a tearoom, but she had hardly touched a mouthful when she remembered there was a girl from out of town who had come in to spend a month doing nothing and had to be helped, but though she rushed to the 'phone she couldn't get her friend before it was time to catch her suburban train home; in order to do which she

> jumped into the station 'bus, only to remember she had forgotten to buy a ribbon for her Siamese costume for the Benefit Ball; but it was too late now and she spent her time, going out on the train, trying to think of some way of getting along without it, and her head began to ache.... (p. 771)

In "Mothers of the World," Part V of "The Women of To-Morrow," Hard employs a device similar to one Tom Wolfe used in his early versions of the material that became, in different form, The Right Stuff. Originally, Wolfe's story of the experience of the astronauts was told in the voice of a sort of composite astronaut; the articles' text represented the monologue in which the voice told "Tom" the story. One writer termed this device "collective unspoken."[50] Hard presents a scene showing his dialogue with a symbolic character identified at the end of the article, in her own words, as "the spirit that made woman love her child, and that shall yet make her love her kind." (p. 108) The voice tells the writer that "the greatest reserve fund of energy in any American city is the leisure and semi-leisure of certain classes of its women...." (p. 100) and suggests that this energy be used to make the city more livable. Most of the article consists of descriptions of the work of various women's groups rendering service to the city.

* * * * *

These selected examples from William Hard's work show the rich variety of styles and techniques he used to tell his stories in the early years of his career. Like many of his contemporaries among popular magazine journalists, Hard was contributing to the creation of a popular literature on affairs of the day. Ron Weber has noted that the audience the New

Journalism sought was a "mass audience" but "not the old middlebrow audience." It was one that

> wants to know what's going on, that feels compelled to Keep Up, but prefers its information--if it has to read to get it--dispatched entertainingly and with familiar literary trimmings. Information plus art...an up-to-date factual fiction that leaps over the dreariness of day-to-day journalism yet doesn't fly off in the strange ways of Barth and Borges and Barthelme....[51]

Similar observations might be made regarding the audience of the popular magazines of William Hard's day earlier in this century. For those readers Hard examined current affairs and social issues in articles made more appealing by means of narrative and dramatic presentation of characters, figurative language, and carefully modulated tone and pace. Facts, authoritative statements, and analysis were interwoven to lend credibility to the stories. Like the New Journalists of Tom Wolfe's description, Hard wrote nonfiction with the power "to excite the reader both intellectually and emotionally."[52]

NOTES

1. An earlier and very different version of this paper was read at the 1977 meeting of the Popular Culture Association in Baltimore.

2. William Hard, "Farmer-Labor," New Republic 24 (13 October 1920): 168.

3. Erman J. Ridgway, "Conversazione," The Delineator 78 (September 1911): 157; "With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 19 (November 1908): 720; Editor's Note, "Better Business: I," Everybody's 29 (December 1913): 734; "Straight Talk with Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 29 (December 1913): 866.

4. Louis Filler, The Muckrakers (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), n. 11, p. 273; Geoff Conklin, ed., The New Republic Anthology, 1915-1935 (New York: Dodge, 1936), p. 556.

5. Tom Wolfe, "Is the New Journalism Really New?" in The New Journalism, ed. Tom Wolfe and E. W. Johnson (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 45.

6. George Hough, "How 'New'?" in New Journalism, ed. Marshall W. Fishwick (Bowling Green, Ohio: Popular Press, 1975), p. 21.

7. Norman Sims, "A New Generation of 'New' Journalists," The Quill, July/August 1982, p. 9; Michael Schudson, Discovering the News (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p. 187.

In addition to those already cited, other works on the historical roots of New Journalism and on New Journalism generally include: Joseph M. Webb, "Historical Perspective on the New Journalism," Journalism History I (Summer 1974): 38-42; Jay Jensen, "The New Journalism in Historical Perspective," in Liberating the Media, ed. Charles C. Flippen (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1974), pp. 18-28; Norman E. Isaacs, "What Old Values?" ASNE Bulletin, July/August 1974, p. 17; Ronald Weber, ed., The Reporter As Artist (New York: Hastings House, 1974); John Hollowell, Fact and Fiction: The New Journalism and the Nonfiction Novel (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), pp. 33-36; Ronald Weber, The Literature of Fact (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1980); and John Hellman, Fables of Fact: The New Journalism as New Fiction (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981). A recent work of value, even though its subject is specifically biography and autobiography, is William R. Siebenschuh, Fictional Techniques and Factual Works (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983).

8. See Robert Woods and Albert J. Kennedy, eds., Handbook of Settlements (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1911), pp. 66-68.

Biographical information on Hard can be found in its most complete form in Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Seven, 1961-1965 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), pp. 320-321. See also "William Hard, An Editor, Is Dead," New York Times, 1 February 1962, p. 31. Also helpful to the author was an unpublished 14-page manuscript from 1942, "William Hard," written by Alva Johnston.

9. Allen F. Davis, Spearheads of Reform (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 170.

10. Davis, pp. 29-30.

11. Woods and Kennedy, eds., p. 67; Johnston, p. 1.

12. Johnston, p. 2.

13. Will Irwin, "The American Newspaper. XII--The Foe Within," Collier's, 1 July 1911, p. 30.

14. Johnston, p. 2.

15. Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Culture and Democracy (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminster Press, 1965), p. 53.

16. On settlements and the labor movement, see Jane Addams, "The Settlement as a Factor in the Labor Movement," in Hull House Maps and Papers (1895; rpt New York: Arno Press, 1970), pp. 183-204; Davis, pp. 103-122.

17. William Hard and Ernest Poole, "Stock Yards Strike: Competitive Wages and the Right to Live," Outlook 77 (13 August 1904): 884-889. See also William Hard, "Labor in the Chicago Stockyard," Outlook 83 (16 June 1906): 336-343; Davis, pp. 112-120 and n. 142, p. 281; Ernest Poole, The Bridge (New York: Macmillian, 1940), p. 94; Truman F. Keefer, Ernest Poole (New York: Twayne, 1966), pp. 31-32.

18. On Everybody's, see Theodore P. Greene, America's Heroes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 212-219; Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines. Vol. V. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 72-87; Kathryn Dean Huddleston, "The Literary and Social Significance of Everybody's Magazine from 1903-1913," Diss. George Peabody College for Teachers, 1975. John Adams Thayer, Astir: A Publisher's Life Story (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company, 1910), pp. 225-290, conveys the reminiscences and opinions of one of Ridgway's partners.

19. Roy Lubove, The Struggle for Social Security (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 46: "Publicists like William Hard condemned the 'industrial juggernaut' for its waste of life and indifference to the consequences of work injury."

20. Undated letter quoted in Arthur and Ila Weinberg, eds., The Muckrakers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961), p. 360.

21. On the campaign against Cannon, see Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 344-348.

22. "With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 19 (November 1908): 720.

23. "With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 23 (October 1910): 576.

24. Judson A. Grenier, "Muckraking and the Muckrakers: An Historical Definition," Journalism Quarterly 37 (Autumn 1960): 554, 558. See also Harry H. Stein and John M. Harrison, "Muckraking Journalism in Twentieth-Century America," in Muckraking: Past, Present and Future, eds. John M. Harrison and Harry H. Stein (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1973), pp. 11-22; and Harry H. Stein, "American Muckrakers and Muckraking: The 50-Year Scholarship," Journalism Quarterly 56 (Spring 1979): 9-17.

25. Hard, undated letter quoted in Weinbergs, eds., p. 432; Filler, The Muckrakers, n. 11, p. 273.

26. See David M. Chalmers, The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers (New York: Citadel Press, 1964), pp. 15, 18.

27. Eric L. McKittrick, "Crusading Journalists," Commentary, July 1962, p. 87. Similar comments have been made about the work of the New Journalists of the 1960s and 1970s. See, for example, comments by Pauline Kael and Renata Adler quoted in "Tom Wolfe and His Dirigible," More: A Journalism Review, July 1972, pp. 11, 14-16, 18. Adler referred to New Journalism as "a lot of zippy prose about inconsequential people." p. 16.

28. A similar view of "De Kid" is expressed in Donald McQuade and Robert Atwan, eds., Popular Writing in America: The Interaction of Style and Audience (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 211-212. "De Kid Wot Works at Night" is one of the articles in this anthology.

29. Rheta Childe Dorr, who is listed as a collaborator on the articles in the series "The Woman's Invasion" and is credited with having done a great deal of the early research for the series, reacted negatively when the articles were published. She later wrote that "the intent and meaning of the whole thing was distorted beyond recognition." Dorr, What Eight Million Women Want (1910; rept New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1971), p. 167. See also pp. 193-198 and Filler, The Muckrakers, pp. 272-273.

30. Fola LaFollette, Bookman 35 (June 1912): 422; A. S. Johnson, The Dial 53 (1 July 1912): 18; ALA Booklist 8 (April 1912): 330.

31. Walter Hines Page, "An Intimate View of Publishing," World's Work 4 (September/October 1902): 2562. Later in that article Hines asserts, "A magazine deserves to die that is not interesting." P. 2563.

32. Conversation with the author, 11 February 1980.

33. Greene, pp. 169-170. See also Huddleston, p. 19.

34. Thayer, p. 251. The tendency of muckraking magazines to present their material in striking form is noted in Louis Filler, Progressivism and Muckraking: A Bibliography (New York: Bowker, 1976), p. 45. For an argument for considering the general magazines of the muckraking era as more than just vehicles for the literature of exposure, see Ron Marmarelli, "More Than Muckraking: McClure's Magazine, 1903-1905. A Preliminary Study for a Qualitative Assessment of the Content of Muckraking Magazines of the Progressive Era," unpublished paper presented to the Magazine Division, Association for Education in Journalism, annual convention, Boston, 1980, which stresses the general-interest nature of the magazines.

35. Mott, Vol. V, p. 87.

36. Circulation figures from editions of Ayer's Newspaper Annual and Directory, 1900-1913, listed in Greene, p. 174. In 1903, the magazine's reported circulation was 250,000; in 1913, it was 600,000. During the period 1904-1913, circulation averaged 569,000.

37. "Straight Talk With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 29 (December 1913): 865-866.

38. Quoted in "Straight Talk With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 30 (February 1914): 288.

39. Letter from Charles B. Going, editor, The Engineering Magazine, quoted in "Straight Talk With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 30 (February 1914): 288.

40. For specific references to articles in this series see notes below.

41. "Straight Talk With Everybody's Publishers," Everybody's 29 (December 1913): 866. One of the latter was an article on fraternities that opens with a column of Greek letters scattering out from college campuses into high schools. "High School Fraternities," Everybody's 21 (August 1909): 173-183.

42. See editor's note to "The Moral Necessity of State Funds for Mothers," Survey 29 (1 March 1913): 769.

43. One of Hard's best friends was Walter Weyl, who had founded the magazine with Walter Lippmann and Harold Croly. See Charles Forcey,

The Crossroads of Liberalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 207. Weyl and another of Hard's friends, Ernest Poole, were brothers-in-law.

44. "Is America Honest?" Metropolitan, March 1918, pp. 15-16, 66-69. On the controversy, see Ronald B. Anderson, "George Creel and the Committee on 'Pitiless Publicity,'" unpublished paper presented to the Public Relations Division, Association for Education in Journalism, annual convention, Athens, Ohio, 1982, pp. 10-12.

45. Nicholas Lemann, review of Thirty Seconds by Michael J. Arlen, Washington Monthly, May 1980, p. 64. Siebenschuh uses similar terms to define "literary art" in factual works. He writes that it consists of "the use of particular dramatic and stylistic techniques that we normally associate with fiction or poetry: dialogue, dramatized episodes, sustained narrative or dramatic structure, symbolism, imagery, and heavy dependence on the purely affective dimension of language." Fictional Techniques and Factual Works, pp. 6-7.

46. Arthur Asa Berger, "Am I A Siamese Twin?" in Fishwick, ed., New Journalism, p. 68.

47. Wolfe, The New Journalism, pp. 31-32.

48. Complete citations of the articles and series referred to in the text are as follows:

"De Kid Wot Works at Night," Everybody's 18 (January 1908): 25-37.

"The Woman's Invasion," Everybody's I., 19 (November 1908): 579-591; II., 19 (December 1908): 798-810; III., 20 (January 1909): 73-85; IV., 20 (February 1909): 236-248; V., 20 (March 1909): 372-385; and VI., 20 (April 1909): 521-532.

"The Women of To-Morrow," Everybody's I., 23 (August 1910): 215-226; II., 23 (September 1910): 368-379; III., 23 (October 1910): 486-496; IV., 23 (December 1910): 767-777; and V., 24 (January 1911): 98-108.

Pages in the articles discussed are cited in parentheses in the text.

49. William Ruehlmann, Stalking the Feature Story (Cincinnati: Writer's Digest Books, 1977), pp. 115-116. Ruehlmann uses the term in reference to an article by Mike Winerip in the Louisville Courier Journal and provides the following excerpt:

> Louisville is home for Ralph W. Ray, leading dustpan magnate of the free world.
>
> In less than three seconds his dustpan factory, J. V. Reed & Co., produces a dustpan. (Thump-a-blimp.) More

> than 20 a minute. (Thump-a-blimp, thump-a-blimp.) More than 1,300 an hour. (Thump-a-blimp, thump-a-blimp, thump-a-blimp.) More than six million a year. (THUMP-A-BLIMP!) Twenty per cent of the dustpans for the non-Communist world.

Note the similarity between this and the excerpt from Hard's work that appears in the text.

50. Ronald Weber, "Moon Talk," in Fishwick, ed., New Journalism, p. 49. Wolfe's articles were published in a series in Rolling Stone in 1973 under the title "Post-Orbital Remorse."

51. Ronald Weber, "Some Kind of Artistic Excitement," in Weber, ed., The Reporter as Artist, p. 24.

52. Wolfe, The New Journalism, p. 15.